R E P O R T R E S U M E S

ED 010 362 48

LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD--SINO-TIBETAN FASCICLE FIVE.

BY- VOEGELIN, C. V. VOEGELIN, FLORENCE M.
INDIANA UNIV., BLOOMINGTON

REPORT NUMBER NDEA-VI-63-15 PUB DATE JUN 65
CONTRACT OEC-SAE-9488
EDRS PRICE MF-$0.18 HC-$2.56 64P. ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS, 7(6)/1-58, JUNE 1965

DESCRIPTORS- *LANGUAGES, *SINO TIBETAN LANGUAGES, *CHINESE, ARCHIVES OF LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD, BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

LISTINGS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF THE LANGUAGES OF THE CHINA-TIBET-BURMA REGION OF ASIA ARE PRESENTED. (THIS REPORT IS PART OF A SERIES, ED 010 350 TO ED 010 367.) (JK)

ED010362

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
Office of Education
This document has been reproduced exactly as received from the person or organization originating it. Points of view or opinions stated do not necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

63-15
SAE-9488

PART I

Anthropological Linguistics

Volume 7 Number 6

June 1965

Title

LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD:

SINO-TIBETAN FASCICLE FIVE

A Publication of the
ARCHIVES OF LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD
Anthropology Department
Indiana University

ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS is designed primarily, but not exclusively, for the immediate publication of data-oriented papers for which attestation is available in the form of tape recordings on deposit in the Archives of Languages of the World. This does not imply that contributors will be restricted to scholars working in the Archives at Indiana University; in fact, one motivation for the publication of ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS is to increase the usefulness of the Archives to scholars elsewhere by making publishable data and conclusions and their tape recorded attestation more widely available. (Recorded attestation of papers from scholars elsewhere will be copied by the Archives and the original recordings returned to the collector; others may then work with the tape copy either in the Archives or elsewhere by having a copy sent to them.) In addition to heavily exemplified papers in the form of preliminary or final statements on restricted problems in phonemics, morphophonemics, morphemics, syntax and comparative grammar, ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS will include lexical lists and analyzed texts (especially in the otherwise hard-to-publish range of 20 to 100 pages) and theoretical and methodological papers (especially in the form of papers from symposia).

Each volume of ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS consists of nine numbers to be issued during the months of January, February, March, April, May, June, October, November and December. Subscriptions ($3.50 a year) and papers for publication should be sent to the editor, Dr. Florence M. Voegelin, Anthropology Department, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Entered as second class matter at the postoffice
at Bloomington, Indiana

LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD:
SINO-TIBETAN FASCICLE FIVE

C. F. and F. M. Voegelin

Indiana University

6.0. Scope of the Bodo-Naga-Kachin family
6.1. Bodo branch
6.2. Naga branch
6.3. Kachin branch
7.0. Scope of the Naga-Kuki-Chin family
7.1. Chin branch
7.2. Kuki branch
7.3. Naga branch
8.0. Scope of the Karen family
8.1. Sample of Sqaw sentences
8.2. Phonemic variety in Karen
9.0. Scope of the Burmese-Lolo family
9.1. Burmese
9.2. Lisu

N. B.

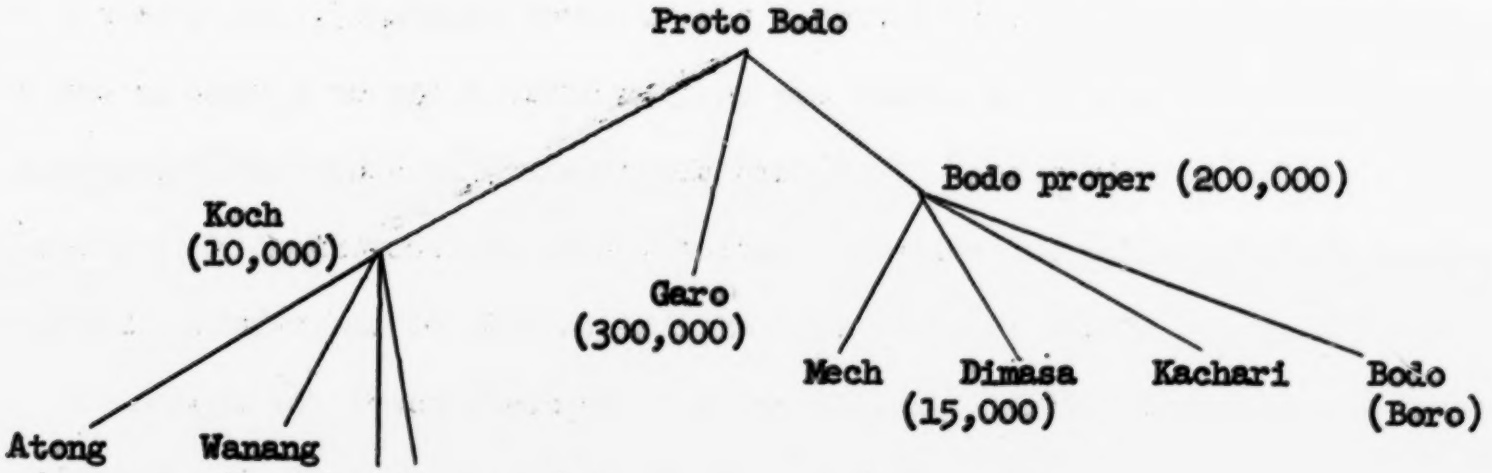
Robert Morse (personal communication from Burma, April, 1965) reports that the term 'Naga' is falling into general disrepute in Burma; it is no longer used in reference to the northern Naga (the Naga of our Bodo-Naga-Kachin family). The new official name for these people in the North-East Frontier Agency area is now Tangsa (hill people), a name which has already appeared in the literature on them; e.g., Parul Dutta, The Tangsas, published by the North-East Frontier Agency, Shillong, 1959.

For authorship and sponsorship, see Languages of the World: Sino-Tibetan Fascicle One (0.1). The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

6.0. Bodo-Naga-Kachin is essentially three branches of one language family which is then related to the Tibetan family (4, above) and to the Gyarung-Mishmi family (5, above), as well as to other language families in the Sino-Tibetan phylum ineast Asia and in Burma. No attempt is made to state the brachiation, from a family tree model, of the different language families within the phylum; in the case of Bodo-Naga-Kachin, for example, it is enough to say that this particular family is related, and in general pretty remotely, to other Sino-Tibetan language families. Attention is thereby focussed not on distant or remote or ultimate linguistic relationships (which are neither denied nor questioned); instead attention is focussed on the three main branches of one language family, Bodo (6.1, below) Naga (6.2, below) and Kachin (6.3, below). In principle, the languages within each branch are linguistically closer to each other than any pair of languages in two different branches of the Bodo-Naga-Kachin family are. Geographically, Bodo languages are located in Assam, Naga languages are also in Assam, but Kachin languages are located largely in North Burma.

6.1. Just as it is possible to focus attention on one or another language family within a phylum without further reference to the phylum as a whole, so it is possible to focus attention on the languages in one branch of a language family, without further reference to other branches in the language family. The Bodo branch has been so treated by Robbins Burling (1959) whose work supercedes that of all predecessors; Bodo is treated as a language family with branches of its own(sub-branches, of course, from the point of view of the larger Bodo-Naga-Kachin); it is treated like a language family in its own right by being reconstructed, as Proto Bodo. We can then

begin with a family tree model of the languages descending from Proto Bodo, with the number of speakers estimated for each, or for each sub-branch.



There are several mutually unintelligible Koch languages still spoken, as Atong and Wanang. The two lines leading from the word 'Koch' to the right of the lines leading to 'Atong' and 'Wanang' are meant to indicate a plural number of additional Koch languages. The exact number of additional languages is not stated.

It is not known for Bodo, or elsewhere in Burma, Assam or in the Himalayas, generally, how many separate languages exist, each separated by language barrier from the other. Whenever anthropologists are the first to describe areas in which previously unknown languages are found, they tend to identify units of social organization, as tribes, with a separate language name for each, even though the speech of two politically separate tribes (as the Dakota and Assinaboine in the northern Plains of the United States) may be mutually intelligible, and differ only in dialect. In short, the reports of anthropologists tend to overestimate the linguistic diversity within a given area or language family. On the other hand, when administrators or linguists are the first to describe areas in which previously unknown languages are found, they tend to underestimate the linguistic diversity of a given area or language

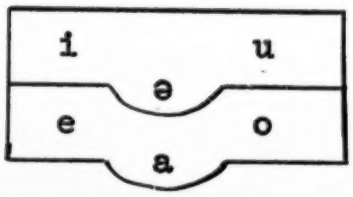
family. The linguists in early survey work might be overly impressed with heavy cognate density between L_1 and L_2 and assume that with so many shared cognates (or shared borrowings from a common donor language), the speakers of L_1 and L_2 could surely understand one another after a day or a week or two of contact. The administrators might lump the speakers of Atong and Wanang(and others who have different self-designations) into one convenient Koch group, since the speech of one is admittedly similar to that of the others, rather than deal separately with a proliferation of separate names for separate peoples. It is only after a fair amount of linguistic analysis has been done in a given area that it becomes possible to say whether preliminary survey groupings and administrative groupings have exaggerated or minimized the amount of linguistic diversity. For the Himalayas generally, and for Assam and North Burma in particular, there can be no doubt that differences of the magnitude of separate languages have been sadly minimized in the preliminary reports which are, often enough, the only things we have to go on. Recent field workers are in agreement that there are more languages spoken in this part of the world than have appeared in the preliminary reports--some say hundreds more all told for North Burma, Assam, and the Himalayas.

Specifically, now, Koch is a sub-branch name for two separate languages that are designated as Wanang and Atong, beside a plural number of separate languages that are not yet designated by names.

Atong is spoken in the southeastern part of the Garo Hills district. The Atong must be culturally close to, or share salient cultural values with the Garo (see below), for they identify themselves as being Garo, despite the fact that a language barrier separates them from the Garo whose language

they cannot understand, short of learning it as a second separate language, and vice versa.

Materials collected from several informants in the area of Baghmara, Garo Hills, show that Atong distinguishes the glottal stop /ʔ/ and three oral stops /p t k/ which are aspirated and matched by three lenis (weakly voiced) stops; fricatives distinguish /ś h/ (/ś/, written /sc/, is between tongue-tip and tongue-blade of English sibilants /s š/); nasals distinguish /m n ŋ/, and there is but one liquid, /r/, and one semivowel, /w/. The vowel system appears almost as symmetrical 2(FCB) type, except that the central vowels are lower than the flanking front-back vowels at high and mid tongue heights:



Diphthongs have their on-set with either one of the central vowels, and their off-glide in either one of the flanking vowels at high tongue height: /ai əi au əu/. Aside from non-initial /ŋ ʔ/, other consonants appear in syllable initial. All nasals, aspirated stops, the flap /r/, and /ʔ/ (as well as /ʔ/ -nasal and /ʔr/ clusters) appear in syllable final.

Wanang is spoken by a few hundred people along the western border of the Garo Hills, near the marketplace of Garobadha, and is obviously a Koch language rather than a Garo language (with which it was previously confused when called the 'Garo of Jalpaiguri'). Wanang distinguishes three unaspirated stops /p t k/ which are matched by three nasals, /m n ŋ/, and by a bilabial /f/, a strongly aspirated /t^h/ as well as /ś/ (written sc), and /h/. There are two liquids, /l r/, rather than one as in Atong. The vowel type of Wanang, and permitted diphthongs, are identical with Atong's (see above).

Nothing is said about how many languages or dialects are differentiated by the 250,000 (Burling) or 300,000 (Center for Applied Linguistics) Garo

speakers. The Garo which Burling describes is called 'Standard', and is spoken in the northeastern part of the Garo Hills district in westernmost Assam. This Garo distinguishes glottal stop from four oral stops (including the affricate), /p t c k/, which are matched by four voiced stops, and (not counting the affricate) by three nasals, / m n ŋ/; there is but one liquid, written /r/, and one semivowel, /w/. The vowel system is of the 2 (FB) over N type because front-back vowels contrast at high and mid tongue heights, /i u/ and /e o/, while this contrast is neutralized at low tongue height, /a/.

In syllable pattern with initial vowel (V), the syllable may be closed with one consonant (C), two or none: VC, VCC, V. In syllable pattern with initial consonant, the preceding pattern is elaborated: CVC or CCVC; CVCC or CCVCC; CV or CCV. The phonetic value of consonants that may be either in syllable initial or syllable final (as all consonants may, except /ʔ ŋ/ which occur only in syllable final) is determined by syllabic position. For example, there is a single liquid phoneme written /r/ whose phonetic value is a flap [r] when occurring in syllable initial, but a lateral [l] in syllable final. In syllable initial, there are exactly a dozen possible consonant clusters (most of them stop before liquid /r/). The only final consonant clusters are glottal stop /ʔ/ before nasal or liquid.

Bodo proper is spoken by 200,000 people who are more specifically identified as Mech, Dimasa (some 15,000), Kachari, and Bodo or Boro (see chart above), and are scattered up and down the Brahmaputra valley. The specifically identified peoples may be said to speak dialects of Bodo proper, since they are largely though not completely mutually intelligible. Information representative of Bodo proper was obtained from the Kachari dialect.

Kachari, as spoken by an informant from the Goalpara District, north of the Garo Hills, distinguishes the same voiceless stops, the same matching lenis stops, and the same nasals that the Atong (Koch) language does; but Kachari fricatives are /s z/ rather than /ś h/, and Kachari distinguishes two liquids /l r/. The Kachari vowel type, 3 (FCB), with lowered central vowels, is also the same as the Atong (Koch) vowel type, and so are the permitted diphthongs; Kachari dipthongs may be followed by no other consonant than the glottal stop, /ʔ/. Only Kachari distinguishes morphemes by tone (high tone versus low tone, with a possible third tone connected with the syllables flanking the glottal stop, /ʔ/). In syllable final, the Kachari /p t/ (that are aspirated in syllable initial) are unaspirated and unreleased; other consonants found in syllable final are /m n ŋ r/, and the same after glottal stop as consonant clusters.

6.2. After the summary of Bodo in the Bodo-Naga-Kachin family (6.1, above), we turn to Naga. The following five points on Naga give external information:

(1) The Naga languages and dialects with which we are here concerned are spoken in Assam, and neighboring states, and are not to be confused with Naga-Chin languages and dialects which are spoken in Burma.

(2) The number of speakers of one of our Naga languages, namely Chang, is estimated to be 6,000 by the Wycliffe Bible Translators.

(3) The number of speakers for all Naga languages and dialects is estimated to be 400,000 by the Center for Applied Linguistics, an estimate which might possibly be for all speakers classified as 'Naga' and therefore include not only our Naga of Assam, but also the separate estimate of 75,000 for the Naga speakers of Naga-Chin in Burma.

(4) Several of the Naga names, given under (5), following, are listed

as 'Bibleless' by the Wycliffe Bible Translators who may well have included in their list the names of additional Naga languages, but without identifying them as such.

(5) The list of Naga language and dialect names given by Shafer, under his Baric Division (Assam), Nagish Section:

Mośang, Sangge;

Namsangia;

Banpara, Mutonia;

Tśingmegnu (Tamlu);

Angwanku (Tableng), Mulung;

Tśang

[The source cited in our note on page 1 lists the following as the most important 'Tangsa subtribes': Lungchang, Yogli, Mosang, Ron-Rang, Khemsing, Moklum, Tikhak, Ponthai, Longphi, Sanke, Lungri, Paipi, and Have (Hewa). Morse comments, on the basis of fieldwork on several, "the languages are closely related, and might be considered widely divergent dialects."]

An additional language, Lepcha, is certainly associated with the name 'Naga' but there are two Nagas, as already noted. Shafer classifies Lepcha under his Northern Naga Branch of his Kukish Section of his Burmic Division which we treat under Naga-Chin (7, below). However, additional field work since Shafer's classification appeared suggests that Lepcha is better classified with the Naga branch of the Bodo-Naga-Kachin family.

The Lepcha are located by Grierson in Dar, Sikkim, Western Bhutan, and Eastern Nepal. Their self-designation is Róng. The Tibetans call the Lepcha Rongpa and Mũnpa. The Nepalese have a nickname for the Lepcha, namely Lepchu, vile speakers. The 1901 census counted 19,291 Lepcha, but the 1909 linguistic survey estimated that there were over seventy-five percent more Lepcha speakers—a total of 34,894.

Benedict (1943) gives certain parallels between Tibetan and Lepcha suffixes, in reference to Lepcha as spoken in Sikkim. The parallel prefixes account for the development of a verb causative infix, which is certainly

unusual; infixes are otherwise unknown in Sino-Tibetan. Compare the following verbs cited as intransitive (without the infix) and as transitive (with the infix): pok, pyok (1) cast down, (2) cause to cast down; nak, nyak (1) be straight, (2) make straight.

Grierson also notes prefixes in Lepcha: prefix plus verb yields noun or adjective. For nouns in the domain of persons and animals sex gender and maturity are marked by affixes: (prefix-noun-suffix): male humans contrasting with female humans, male animals contrasting with female animals, but with explicit affixes to mark male goats and pigs and also to mark male large animals, a young pig, and an animal that has borne young. Number is marked by suffixes for dual without reference to gender, and for animate plural in contrast to inanimate plural; an unsuffixed noun is singular. Person marking paradigms distinguish four cases for the plural of 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person (nominative, accusative, agentive, and possessive), and these same four cases, and in addition ablative for the singular of each of the three persons. The verb phrase in Lepcha distinguishes verb complements (to be able, be finished, do, and desiderative); and reduplication of stem final consonant before suffix to mark perfective of to finish; and a score of tense, mode, clause dependency, negative, and aspect notions by suffixes, including one suffix for future of 1st person, and another suffix for future of 2nd person.

Aside from two affricates, the Lepcha stops distinguish /p t ṭ k/. All these unaspirated stops, including the two affricates, are matched by voiced stops; and all except the retroflex /ṭ/ are matched by aspirated stops. Retroflex nasal is also lacking, but the nasals otherwise match the stops /m n ñ ŋ/, as do the fricatives /f s š h/. Two liquids are distinguished, /l r/, and two semivowels, /w y/.

6.3. There are also Kachin languages in the Bodo-Naga-Kachin family, though there is less agreement as to which languages may belong to a Kachin branch than there is as to which languages belong to the Bodo branch (6.1, above) or to the Naga branch (6.2, above). The Kachin languages and dialects have their geographic center in north Burma, but extend to neighboring states. Stevenson (1944) locates the whole Kachin territory as extending from the Hukawng valley, in Burma, eastward along the Tibetan frontier, and down the Chinese frontier as far south as the Kengtung State, spilling over into Assam on the west, and into Yunnan on the east.

The most recent estimate of the total number of Kachin speakers is 500,000; sources based on the 1931 census of Burma estimated the Kachin population to be 400,000 as late as 1946. Sources which show 153,000 as the Kachin population in 1931, probably refer only to the Chingpaw, who are still said to be the most numerous of the Kachin groups, and more recently estimated to number 180,000.

Chingpaw Kachin is spoken throughout the wide arc of hills stretching from the Naga Hills in the west to the center of the Shan plateau. There is also mention of Hkaku Kachin speakers, but no mention of specific area occupied; instead, they are ascribed to the Kachin Hills; but all Kachin languages are spoken in some parts of these hills, and sometimes beyond them. Kauri Kachin (Khauri, Gauri) are located principally in Sinlum. For the most part, this is what Shafer calls the Katśinish Section (North Burma) of the Burmic Division: Katśin, Khauri; Dźili. The Chingpaw Kachin, at least, and possibly Shafer's Katśinish Section in general are called 'Ye Jein' or 'Ye Yeh' by the Chinese; and 'Khang' by the neighboring Shans; and 'Kachin' or 'Theinbaw' by the Burmese. The self-designation for these Kachins is Chingpaw.

Hertz (1935) shows that Chingpaw Kachin matches unaspirated / p t č k/ (beside additional but unmatched affricates and palatalized velar) and aspirated stops and voiced stops, and nasals /m n ñ ŋ/, and fricatives, /v s š h/ (beside /z/). There are two liquids, /l r/. About a dozen vowels are specified, but it seems unlikely that all are distinctive.

The grammar of Chingpaw Kachin is remarkable for its organization of paradigmatic suffixes in definite orders or successive slots. After the verb stem, for example, the speaker makes a selection of one out of a possible sixteen suffixes from the first order suffix paradigm, distinguishing continuous past, definite past (in reference to work), to be finished (in reference to food), and other tense-aspects, and also distinguishing a half dozen imperatives depending on who is addressed, and also distinguishing a half dozen potentials, as can, know how to, be able (to overcome), may, might (think). The sequence verb stem-first order suffix paradigm is then followed by selection from a second order suffix paradigm (tense); the third order is a single suffix marking future; the fourth order suffix paradigm offers selection largely from mode or style (informal assertion marker, polite assertion marker for 1st person singular and other person); the fifth order marks conditional; the sixth order offers selection from a suffix paradigm distinguishing emphasis, the quotative, and different kinds of questions (general, for explicit information, for comfirmation, for conjecture, for soliciting a yes answer). Before the verb stem there is a possible prefix that marks change of a verb from intransitive to transitive. All this has the appearance of a western American Indian language (as Navaho with its many prefix orders, or Nootka or Eskimo with successive suffix order) rather than a Sino-Tibetan language. In the case of Chingpaw Kachin, the suffixes in the half dozen successive orders after

the verb stem have the shape (Consonant)-Vowel-(Consonant)--vowel alone, or vowel flanked on one or both sides by consonant. In general, the suffix morpheme is monosyllabic, as is the verb stem morpheme; this suggests an alternative analysis to the verb-suffix order sequence given by Hertz (that is to say, verb followed by one to six verb complements). When analyzed in this way, the verb phrase may be more elaborate, since up to six complements are includable, but otherwise it patterns quite like other verb phrases in Sino-Tibetan. However, the verb complements (or suffixes) in Chingpaw Kachin function as minor morpheme (m), whereas a large fraction of verb complements in the Tibetan languages and in Chinese have a dual function ($\overline{\underline{M}}$ ~ $\overline{\underline{m}}$): the same morpheme that functions as a verb complement ($\overline{\underline{M}}$) in one phrase may appear in another phrase functioning as the main verb, the phrase nucleus ($\overline{\underline{m}}$).

Noun phrases in general are structurally parallel to verb phrases in Chingpaw Kachin. Aside from kin-relationship of noun (relation to 2nd distinguished from relation to 3rd person), which is marked by prefix, the noun phrase is a sequence of noun stem followed by five orders or slots for suffixes. The first slot is filled by a suffix marking plural in general; the next slot marks number more explicitly by selection from a second order suffix paradigm which distinguishes all from some from one, and also numbers higher than one (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 20, 30); pluralizer is marked by suffix in the third order. After specifying number, case is marked by selection from a fourth order suffix paradigm (subject markers, goal marker, benefactive, source or from marker, from in reference to persons, from in reference to places, with or agentive or instrumental, of or genitive or possession marker, to or directional or locative marker, location marker, in, and suffix marking by, near). The fifth slot may be filled by a suffix which redundantly marks

subject, with reference to or as regards something specified more explicitly in the noun phrase by preceeding suffixes or particles, which are not generally monosyllabic, as are verb suffixes or verb complements. Almost half of the noun suffixes or noun particles (in alternative analysis) are bisyllabic.

For nouns in the domain of persons, animals, and birds, noun classifier and sex gender is marked by monosyllabic suffixes after noun with last syllable reduplicated. One pair of suffixes distinguishes masculine and feminine of persons; another of inferior animals; another of cattle (which are by no means inferior animals); another of birds. Sex gender of persons may be redundantly marked by a different, following suffix.

Case may also be redundantly marked by suffix in the noun phrase, and by selection from an independent person marking paradigm which also distinguishes singular and dual and plural for 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons.

Favorite phrase orders in sentences include both S-O-V (subject-object-verb) and O-S-V. The modifier-modified order (attributive-N) can be inverted to modified-modifier (N-attributive) in noncontrastive syntax.

The Burma Year Book for 1957-58 says that Chingpaw (or Jinghpaw or Singhpo) now applies only to a group including the Lashi and Maru (and others not specified); and that Kachin is a cover term to include not only the Chingpaw Kachin but also to include the non-Chingpaw Kachin; and that the Kachin, in this wider sense, are still concentrated mainly in Myitkyina, Bhamo, and Katha Districts, but have now penetrated as far as Kentong State.

Shafer's Northern Unit of the Burmish Section includes Phun,which we treat under Burmese (8, below); as he does; however, the other members of his Northern Unit of the Burmish Section, as Atśang, are classified here in the Kachin branch of the Bodo-Naga-Kachin family, together with Lawng (Maru),

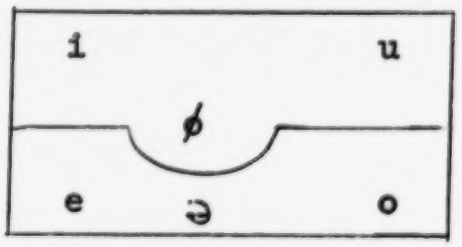
Letsi (Lashi) Tsaiwa (Atši, Szi). Dialects of Atśang are Ngatśang and Maingtha. Both Lashi (Letsi) and Maru are spoken for the most part in the Htawgaw sub-division; but occasional Lashi and Maru villages are found as far south as the northern Shan States. Atzi (Szi, Tsaiwa) is spoken in the Sadon sub-division, but not exclusively there.

For Shafer's Nungish Section of North Burma, the following names are listed: Rawang, Metu, Melam, Tamalu, Tukiumu. These are names of dialects spoken by the Ganung-Rawang tribe. The tribal population as a whole is estimated to be 60,000. The language as a whole may be called simply Rawang, and classified as at least one divergent member of the Kachin branch of Bodo-Naga-Kachin family in the Sino-Tibetan phylum. The Rawang language is said to be differentiated into between 75 and 100 different dialects, and some of these dialects are said to be mutually unintelligible to others. Further field work now underway by Robert Morse may well attest what seems probable from information already in hand—namely that Rawang may not only be identified as a language name, but also as a sub-branch of the Kachin branch. The Rawang sub-branch then comprises more than one language, with scores of different dialects still to be ascribed to each language in the Rawang sub-branch. Some of the dialects that are known to be Rawang are: Mutwang dialect, for which internal information is given below; Melam, Metu, Tamalu, Tukiumu; also the southern dialects or languages, as Longmi, Zitung, Krangku.

The fact that Rawang are called Nung in some sources may have led Shafer to neglect what we call 'the real Nung' (since we classify Rawang quite separately, as above). But there is so little information on 'the real Nung', that their affiliation remains indeterminant. It may be that 'the real Nung' should have been placed in the Gyarung-Mishmi family, above, rather than here with the

Rawang sub-branch, as a second coordinate sub-branch of the Kachin branch of the Bodo-Naga-Kachin family in the Sino-Tibetan phylum. In social organization, 'the real Nung' constitute a tribe known not only as Nung, but also as Kwinp'ang, Kuhpang, Kwingsang, Fuch'ye. This is in all probability the tribe whose population in Burma and Yunnan totals 10,000, according to an estimate made by the Wycliffe Bible Translators. Additional dialect or language names for 'the real Nung' located in the middle reaches of the Salween River are: Cholo, Miko, Gwaza, Byabe , Nora, Kizolo, Lama (whose population is said to be 3,000)— but the specific names available may be as relatively meagre for 'the real Nung' as are names for languages and dialects (75 to 100) in the coordinate Rawang sub-branch of Kachin.

The Rawang that are described by Morse (1962) live in the Putao and Sumprabum sub-divisions of the Kachin State in extreme upper Burma. Aside from the glottal stop, /ʔ/, they distinguish four oral stops /p t č k/, which are matched by voiced stops, and mostly matched by nasals, /m n ŋ/. The voiceless fricatives /s š/ are matched by voiced fricatives. Two semi-vowels /w y/ and one liquid, /l/, complete the consonant inventory. The vowel type is 2 (FCB) over N, with central vowel lower than the high tongue height flanking front and back vowels; with front-central-back vowels at mid tongue height, and with no contrast at low tongue height:



The vowel /ə/ does not occur in syllables with glottal stop. All vowels distinguish short from long, and also distinguish four tones:

1 high, 2 mid, 3 low, 4 neutral (unmarked):

ra^{1}loη^{2} to come to agreement,

ra^{2}loη to accompany,

ra^{3}loη to become necessary,

raloη^{2} to rise up.

The initials of all syllables and finals of final syllables are consonants; the nucleus of a syllable is exclusively a single vowel (not a sequence of more than one vowel). Single consonants or consonants plus /w/ in cluster (Cw) occur initially; single consonants or nasal-C clusters occur finally. Aside from the glottal stop, all consonants occur as initial C before vowel; the Cw initial clusters are restricted to back consonants—gw, kw-,ŋw-, hw-. Voiced stops and /z/ do not occur in syllable final; all other consonants do; /-nt/ is a unique final cluster.

Barnand (1934) gives some information on the grammar of 'The Rawang dialect of the Nung language' for which he supplies additional names of particular 'clans and families' (Matwanly, Htiselwang, Serwang, Serhta, Wahke, Agu, Hpungsi, Wadamkong), and the name by which the Rawang are known to the Chingpaw Kachin (Nung), and to the K'amti Shan (Hkanung). Rawang distinguishes between a direct and indirect way of asking a question. Intransitive verbs are transformed into transitive verbs by the prefix /ša-/. Noun classifiers which mark number distinguish human beings, animals, and inanimate articles.

7.0. The Naga-Kuki-Chin family in the Sino-Tibetan phylum includes three branches, the first of which is called 'Naga'. But the languages in this Naga branch are, as already mentioned, quite different languages than those which belong to the Naga branch of the Bodo-Naga-Kachin family (6, above). Except for not including the language called Lepcha (which belongs in the Naga branch of the Bodo-Naga-Kachin family), and except for adding two languages, one called Hor, spoken in eastern Tibet, and the other Tshairel, spoken in southeastern Assam, to the Naga-Kuki-Chin family, our list of languages for this family is virtually the same as Shafer's Kukish Section of his Burmic Division; under this Kukish Section, he lists a dozen 'Branches', such as the Meithei Branch (spelled with an unarticulated -l-, 'Meithlei' in order to preserve a presumably older pronunciation); the Lakher Branch (Mara, Tlongsai, Hawthai; Sabeu; Zeuhnang; Śandu); the Langet Branch; and the Western Branch, including Empeo, Kabiu and Khoirao, Kwoireng and Maram. The last mentioned (Maram) is localized in the Southern Haka subdivision of Burma; and is estimated to number 5,000 speakers.

Most of the language names given below for geographic divisions of the three branches of the Naga-Kuki-Chin family correspond to one or another of Shafer's dozen 'Branches' (given parenthetically):

North Naga (Northern Naga Branch),

East Naga (Eastern Branch),

South Naga (Banhupa Branch),

Naga-Mikir (Mikir Branch); also,

Kuki (Old Kuki Branch); also,

North Chin (Northern Branch),

Central Chin (Central Branch),

South Chin (Southern Branch).

Extrapolating from the 1931 census, which gives a total population of 350,000 Chin in Burma, and 75,000 Naga in Burma--by dividing the total population by the number of dialects--Stern (1962) arrives at the figure of 7,600 for an average Chin dialect-community. His purpose in doing this is to emphasize the relative smallness of an average Chin dialect-community when compared to the size or magnitude of some other averaged dialect-communities (e.g. that of Shan, which belongs to the Kam-Thai family, averages ten times 7,600; that of the Mon, of the Mon Khmer family, averages forty times that of the Chin, while the dialect-community of Burmese (even after averaging in such minor dialects as Intha) is eighty times greater than that of the Chin. These estimates are not of village or urban populations, but numbers of speakers for each so-called 'dialect'; therefore, the more dialects, the fewer number of speakers for each. Languages and dialects in north Burma are certainly more diversified than those in the Irrawaddy Plains.

South Chin languages or dialects include Ašo (Śo), which is known in the ethnographic literature as Plains Chin, and subdivisions of Ašo, some of which are place names in the Plains, and some of which are dialects spoken in far distant places in Burma: Sandoway, Thayetmyo, Minbu, Lemyo, Chittagong; Chinbon is spoken by 11,000 people in the Kanpetlet subdivision of the Chin Hills and Arakan Hill Tracts. Another South Chin group includes the Yawdwin and Chinbok; the latter are also known as Chinbe, and are said to be linguistically divergent and quite numerous: 21,000 live in the Kanpetlet subdivision and the Arakan Hill Tracts. A third South Chin group includes the

Khami, Khimi, and Khumi, and possibly also the Matu and Yindi; all live in the Kanpetlet subdivision and the Arakan Hill Tracts.

Central Chin languages or dialects include Lushai (Dulien, Ngente); also Zahao located in the Falam area of the Chin Hills. These Zahao together with the Laizo and Kwangli are known as the Shimrin, who are estimated to have a total population of 20,000. Also classified as Central Chin are Hmar, Pankhu, Bom, and a group called the Hualngo who number 5,000, and live in the Falam area; other groups in the Falam area which are presumably Central Chin are Tashon, Lomban, Tawr, Lente, and 7,000 speakers of Zanniat. Also Central Chin in classification are Haka (Lai), Klangklang, Khualhringklang; these three are located in the northern part of the Haka subdivision. Also Central Chin are the Sonśe, Taungtha, Zotung (Bandžogi), Kapwi, Lawthve (Matupi), Kwals(h)im. The last mentioned (Kwalshim) are located in the Falam area. The Zotung, above, are located in the southern Haka subdivision, where also dwell the Zokhau and Senthang; and also located in the south, but less definitely, are the Hsemtung, Vamtu, Yokwa, and Bwel.

North Chin languages or dialects include Thado, Siyin (Siyang, Sizang) spoken by 3,000, and Vuite (Paite) and Kamhau; all the preceding are located in the Tiddim area where also dwell the Sokte and Yos. The North Chin Ralte number 17,000 of whom some live in Assam.

The Kuki may be separated linguistically into two groups, a smaller group including Langrong, Aimol, Fallam (Hallam, spoken by 11,000 people), and a larger group including Chiru, Kolhreng, Kom, and Púrum spoken by 300 people, and Anal, and Hiroi-Lamgang. Shafer separates the Kuki into four groups or 'Units' (Central, Western, Central Peripheral, and Lamgang), in- [illegible] above, and in addition Kyau, Hrangkhol, Southern Luhupa,

Biate, and Tarao.

Finally, the Naga-Mikir are distinguished from the South and East and North Nagas.

Naga-Mikir is a single language, differentiated dialectically, which is said to be aberrant but clearly related to the Nagas which follow.

South Naga certainly includes Tangkhul; in addition Shafer includes a Maring Unit (Maring, spoken by 4,000, and Khoibu), and presumably dialect names after his Tangkhul Unit (Ukhrul, Phadang, Tśamphung), and a Kupome Unit (Kupome, Khunggoi, Central and Northern Luhupa).

East Naga languages or dialects include Rengma (Nzonyu, Ntenyi, Iseni-Kotsenu, Angyo), Simi or Sema (Keźama, Sopvoma, Zumoni, Dayang), Angami (Teng-ima and Tśakrima—Dzuna, Kehena, Mima).

North Naga languages or dialects include Hlota or Lhota (Kyŏ, Kantsii); Ao, a language whose standard dialect is known as Chungli, while other dialects are known as Changki, Tungsen, Tunli. Other North Naga dialect or language names are Khan, Tengsa, Longla, Mongsen, Yatsam, Yatsumi, and Thukumi.

7.1. A sample of linguistic information on Chin languages and dialects is given here.

Stern (1962) gives the sound distinctions made by the numerous speakers of Plains Chin, which seem representative of areal linguistic contrasts not only for the South Chin, but for some other languages spoken in the Irrawaddy Plains. Aside from the glottal stop, Plains Chin distinguishes four oral stops, including an affricate stop, /p t č k/, which are unaspirated, but are matched by four aspirated stops and by four voiced stops. The voiced nasals match the oral stops in general, /m n ñ ŋ/, and are partly matched by voiceless or aspirated nasals /m^h n^h $ŋ^h$/. Beside fricatives /s š h/, which are

partly matched by /z ɦ/, there is an aspirated voiceless and an aspirated voiced /s^h z^h/. The voiced lateral also contrasts with an aspirated lateral /l l^h/, and there are two semivowels, /w y/. The vowel system is of the 3 (FB) type because front-back contrasts are made at each three tongue-heights:

i u

e o

ɛ a

Each vowel in the 3 (FB) system contrasts short from long vowel, and high tone from vowel with falling tone. Diphthongs are complex, and may imply a co-existent vowel system for vowels in clusters, beside vowel contrasts in the 3 (FB) system for vowels which are not in clusters.

Henderson (1948) gives the distinctions made in Lushai, one of the many Central Chin dialects. The Lushai nasals distinguish voiced nasals /m n ŋ/ from corresponding voiceless or aspirated nasals. So also, the liquids distinguish unaspirated /l r/ from aspirated /l^h r^h/. And aside from the glottal stop, /ʔ/, six oral stops are distinguished, three without affricate off-glide, /p t k/, and three with the usual sibilant off-glide or with an unusual liquid off-glide, /t^s t^l t^r/; all six contrast with aspirated oral stops, but there are only two matching voiced stops, /b d/. There are three voiceless fricatives /f s h/, which are partly matched by voiced /v z/; and two semivowels, /w y/. Only some of these consonants appear in syllable final. The stops, /p t k/ are sometimes unreleased, the /r/ is flap (sometimes two flaps), and the /l/ may be retroflexed in syllable final. The general syllable structure consists of consonant (possibly with following semivowel) plus vowel (possibly with following syllable final consonant). Contrastive features of the syllable as a whole are length (short versus long) and tone (1, high

level; 2, high falling; 3, low rising; 4, low falling). The vowel system is of the 2 (FB) over N type because front-back contrasts are made at two higher tongue-heights, /i u/ and /e o/, than a non-contrastive vowel, /a/.

Henderson (1957) also relates some of the tone contrasts to case in a North Chin dialect called Kamhau, which is spoken in the Tiddim area (hence, also, the Tiddim Chin). The so-called 'direct' case (with rising, falling, or level tone syllables) is distinguished from 'oblique' case by contrasting tones (respectively, the falling, level, or rising tone). There is a disjunctive person marking paradigm that distinguishes 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons for singular and plural, and further distinguishes inclusive from exclusive in 1st plural. The same distinctions are made by two suffix paradigms after verbs which distinguish tense (one present tense paradigm, and one future tense paradigm). The same person-number distinctions are made by a prefix paradigm before nouns. Verbs in indicative clauses are distinguished from verbs in subjunctive clauses by variation in tone, vowel, final consonant, or syllable length.

7.2. A fragment of linguistic information on Kuki is given by Shafer (1947). Mara, of the Lakher Branch of Shafer's Kukish Section, shows traces of prefixes.

7.3. A sample of linguistic information on Naga follows. Mills (1922) says the Lhota Naga numbered about 20,000 in 1920, and lived in the drainage area of the middle and lower Doyang and its tributaries up to the point where the Doyang emerges into the plains. The self-designation of the Lhota Nagas is Kyon, meaning man. Mills (1926) says 30,599 Ao Nagas were listed in the census of 1921, and were located in that part of the Naga Hills which is

bounded by the Dikhu River to the southeast, by the plains to the northwest, and by various neighbors to the northeast (Konyaks) and to the southwest (Chotas and Semas). The name by which these Nagas are generally known (Ao) is an adaptation of their self-designation (Aor). Smith (1925) gives census figures of 28,135 and 28,877 for 1901 and 1911, respectively, and locates the Ao Naga tribe in the north-eastern part of Assam, extending northwest to the plains of the Brahmaputra valley, where that valley touches the Sibsagor district, and extending south to the boundaries of the Sema and Lhota Nagas.

Both the Lhota and Ao are representative of North Naga dialects. Both distinguish four stops, /p t č k/; these are matched by aspirated stops (completely in Lhota, partly in Ao), and by voiced stops (completely in Ao, partly in Lhota). Both distinguish four fricatives /f s š h/, which are partly matched by voiced /v z/; three nasals, /m n ŋ/; two liquids, /l r/, and two semivowels, /w y/. Both show a pair of co-existent vowel systems. The one for short vowels is of the completely symmetrical 2 (FCB) type:

i	ɨ	u
e	a	o

The one for long vowels is of the partly symmetrical 2 (FB) over N type:

i	u
e	o

a

Person markers for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons are by no means identical in Lhota and Ao, though certain of the alternative forms for some of the same persons are similar. Lhota has separate person markers for plural of the three persons; Ao adds a suffix to the person marker for dual, and another suffix to mark plural. Lhota nouns may be followed by suffixes for plural,

actor-instrumental, various positional cases (to, in, from, with), comparative, interrogative. The Ao suffixes after nouns also distinguish positional cases, but are of different shapes; many more are cited for Ao than for Lhota. Prefixes in Ao are few; scores of suffixes appear after verbs—those marking mode and aspect generally (permissive, repetitive, and so on) preceding those marking tense. The same pre-final slot for mode, aspect and voice, preceding a final slot for suffixes marking tense generally is found in Lhota, though the suffixes (and the few prefixes) are not the same in shape.

8.0. There is general agreement that 'Karen' is some kind of isolable group; this isolable group of languages or dialects are here called the Karen family in the Sino-Tibetan phylum. The problem here is to examine published reports for what information they give on language barriers within the Karen family.

The latest population estimates locate between one and a half and two million Karen in Lower Burma; according to a 1957 estimate, there are fewer than a hundred thousand Karen in Thailand (60,000 to 90,000)—on the western border of Thailand from the northernmost province to the narrow peninsular neck. The majority of Karen live in Burma, then, and the greater part of the territory that they occupy they share with members of three other Sino-Tibetan families—with the Chin of the Naga-Kuki-Chin family (7, above), or with the Shan of the Kam-Thai family (2, above), or with the Burmese of the Burmese-Lolo family (9, below).

Marshall (1922) states that the only exclusive Karen country is the hilly region of the Toungoo district and the Karenni subdivision, where five Karen states, of almost five thousand square miles altogether, were occupied by 42,240 people; and the total number of Karen people, as mentioned, may well be two million. Karen appears to be an overall tribal name, and the names for the three main divisions are also tribal names for the Sgaw Karen, the Pho (or Pwo), and the Bwe.

Jones (1961) does little more than mention the Bwe, and does not even mention what kind of writing they used, if any; he says the Sgaw writing system, based on Burmese writing, was developed by Wade over a century ago and was later adapted to Pho. Marshall localizes the Bwe tribes near Toungoo, in the territory extending from that Burmese city eastward throughout the

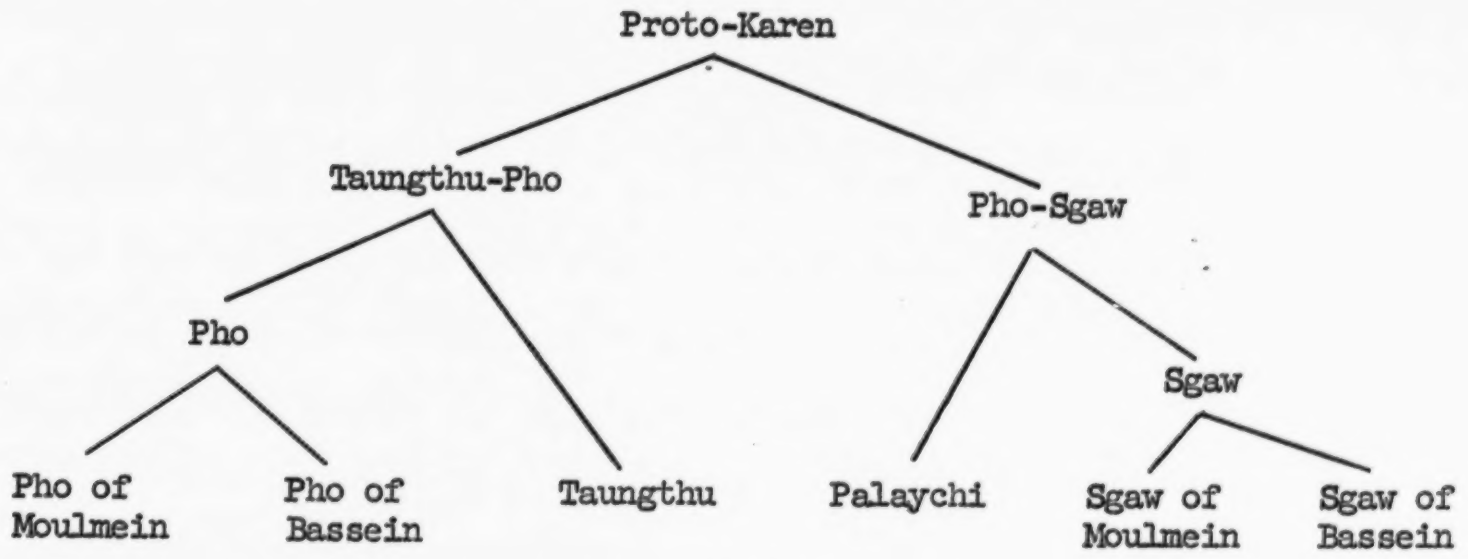
Karenni subdivision, which is very mountainous and occupied by isolated societies which differ from one another in 'dialect, dress, and custom', The nine Bwe tribes that were enumerated in the last government census are Karenni (19,008), Karennet (3,721), Karenbyu (790), Zayein (4,981), Sinsin (533), Bre (6,911), Mano (1,445), Yinbaw (911), Padaung (8,516)--a total of 46,816.

The cover-term for the three main divisions, Karen, is adapted from Burmese Kayin or Karenni. The Burmese call the Red Karen(whose self-designation is Kaya) Karenni; and the Burmese call the Sgaw Karen (whose self-designation is Pgha K'nyan) Kayin. Some of the Red Karen, as well as the Sgaw Karen dialect speakers called Mawnepgha, live in the hilly region that is exclusively occupied by Karen people. The Red Karen occupy the states of Bawlekeh, Kyetpogyi, and Kantarrawaddi. But the majority of the Karen peoples are scattered in every district of Lower Burma--for example, around Bassein, Pyapon, Pegu, Thaton, Moulmein, and Tavoy. Though they count as a minority in Lower Burma, they are a considerable minority. Sgaw and Pho (or Pwo) are the two largest Karen groups, and it is these languages that are used for educational writing; and while the Bwe groups know writing, they use it less, since they are isolated in the Toungoo hills about Thandaung.

Under the Pho (or Pwo), Marshall lists both the Pwo Karen and the Taungthu Karen, whose self-designation is Pao. These Pwo Karen were found along the seacoast from Arracan to Mergui and inland to little more than fifty miles. The Taungthu, who call themselves Pao, were found in an area extending northward from Thaton into the Shan states beyond Taunggyi, and numbered 183,054 in 1911. At this time there were a half million Sgaw in Burma (not counting 50,000 more in Thailand), and about as many Pho (or Pwo). It is interesting that members of these principal divisions often reported themselves

to be simply 'Karen' in 1911, rather than specifying whether they were Sgaw or Pho (Pwo). In the Burma Census of 1911, Karen was erroneously classified as belonging to a branch of the Kam-Thai family, either Tai or Shan.

Proto Karen has recently been reconstructed by Jones (1961) from information on six 'dialects' (listed at the bottom of the diagram):



This list of six present day dialect or language names is not exhaustive; a score of such names are known for Karen. So far as a language barrier is concerned, there is none between the two Pho dialects, and none between the two Sgaw dialects listed on the bottom line of the diagram given above. Mutual intelligibility may be otherwise lacking so that the other names on the bottom line of the diagram may well represent separate languages (Pho, Sgaw, Taungthu, and Palaychi) rather than mutually intelligible dialects (but 'dialect' is often used ambiguously to refer either to a variant of a given language, or to a separate language related to others in a close-knit language family like Karen).

8.1. One of the Karen languages is so clearly presented (Sgaw, Moulmein dialect) that it is possible to give the English gloss for the Sgaw morphemes cited by Robert B. Jones (in UCPL 25, 1961) with page references

to the citation; phrases in square brackets are adapted from Jones' exposition in terms of constructions. The 'constructions' are written without space between morphemes; at least once, when reference is made to a 'phrase', there is no space between the morphemes of the 'phrase' ("The phrase /tə?ɣe/ not good ... " p. 53). Since there is "no morphological distinction between words and morphemes in Karen" (p. 24), it is possible to gloss morphemes with space to indicate the relative order of morphemes in the Karen cited on the pages indicated for each sentence. These morphemes are for the most part monosyllabic. For compounds and other sequences of more than one morpheme that are word-like, two glosses are given--one for each morpheme of the sequence which is enclosed in parenthesis, and a second gloss for the parenthesis as a whole—that is, to give a unified meaning of the word-like sequence.

Syntactic criteria are stated for distinguishing some major morphemes, as nouns from verbs; some minor morphemes are found to be dependent on major morphemes in 'constructions' (restated below in square bracket phrases)—in fixed position in reference to the major morphemes. In addition to syntactic criteria for morpheme or word classes, the person marking morphemes make paradigmatic distinctions between third person and 1st and 2nd singular and plural. There are really three paradigms (with considerable similarity in shape between the person-number marked in each paradigm). The S/P paradigm is for person functioning either as subject (actor) or possessor (possessive), so that there is one morpheme for both I and my, one for both we and our, one for both you and your, but different morphemes for he and his. The O paradigm is for persons functioning as object, as one morpheme for me (but the noun for person is used also in the paradigm in the sense of us), one morpheme for you (object singular) another for you (object plural), and another for him. The

T paradigm is for persons functioning as a topic before comment clause with embedded subject; morphemes are glossed As for me . . . , As for you . . . , and so on.

In the predicative sentences (1) and (2), below, the subject or noun phrase precedes the verb phrase.

(1) I went (p. 31).

[I] [go]

(2) This is a chair (p. 31).

[this] [is chair]

In the connective sentences, a topic (what is first mentioned for emphasis with topic marker, or object mentioned first without topic marker) precedes comment. In sentence (3), the object phrase functions as topic before the comment clause with embedded subject.

(3) He killed that tiger in the forest. (p. 32).

[tiger in forest that] [he killed]

The preceding three sentences are 'uncentered'; the following exemplifies a 'centered' sentence—attention is focused on the first phrase rather than the second (with the embedded subject repeated in each clause).

(4) After you finished college, what did you do? (p. 38).

[you burst-out college finish focus] [you do what kind interrogative]

The following exemplifies a 'double centered' sentence of the appositive kind.

(5) Is this your comb? (p. 41).

[this] [your comb] [interrogative]

These sentences are far too few to permit justification; they do suggest, however, that there is a fundamental distinction between noun phrases

and verb phrases. The structure ('constructions') of noun and verb phrases are quite different; when a subject is embedded in a verb phrase, the phrase is called a 'clause' (as above).

Noun phrases typically include five morphemes, of which the first is 'modified'; all following morphemes are'modifiers', in one sense or another, and some contiguous morphemes after the noun morpheme that is 'modified' bear more immediate relationships to each other.

The following noun phrase is discussed as though it were in a sentence followed by verb phrase; but verb phrases are discussed separately (below).

(6) This red book ... is ... (p. 43).

[book red one classifier this] [verb phrase ... is ...]

The noun morpheme for book is modified by the morpheme for red, by quantifier morpheme for one; then the modified noun is specified by a classifier morpheme which precedes the demonstrative morpheme for this. This is the basic order for noun phrases. The possibilities of selection for each of the five positions vary enormously.

For example, there are only a few possibilities of selection in the final position—the demonstrative morpheme for this, here, as in (6), above; the morpheme for that, there; or the morpheme for each, every.

There is no real freedom of selection among classifier morphemes, since only one out of seventy or more classifiers is appropriate for a given noun. Thus, in (6) above, the noun is glossed book; the classifier appropriate for book might also be glossed flat things, garments, books, birds, coins, ships, thunder, hoes, countries. That is to say, an unusually wide referent range of nouns appear in noun phrases before this same classifier; to gloss the classifier for book specifically, one could of course select flat things or

books. Other classifiers are appropriate for nouns with more compact referent ranges, as streams of water after some nouns, as the classifier for circles, rings after other nouns, as the classifier for bunches contrasting with that for bundles, and with that for traps and snares, and with that for persons, and with that for eyes, large seeds, and with that for quadrupeds, large back baskets, and with that for days, and with that for years, and with that for felled trees, dead bodies, and with that for flowers, and with that for mouthfulls, and with that for quantities grasped in the fingers which is distinguished by classifier from quantities grasped in the hand.

The quantifier morpheme precedes the classifier in noun phrases, and has an immediate relationship to the classifier; the sequence of both quantifier and classifier modifies the noun at the head of the phrase. Selection is possible among numeral quantifiers in this position (one to ten), and among non-numeral quantifiers for few, for each, for how many humans, and for how many nonhumans. The quantifier for how much, how many, appears in another sequence (quantifier before adjectival verb of quantity).

The attributive morpheme, immediately after the head noun in (6), above, is glossed red. Compare (7), below, which differs from (6) chiefly by having a different attributive morpheme, glossed what-kind, and a final particle after the phrase.

(7) What kind of book? (p. 43)

[book what-kind one classifier] interrogative

The noun phrase morphemes are reduced from the five to four, since no demonstrative morpheme is selected in (7); but the noun phrase is followed by final particle glossed interrogative. There are only a few possibilities of selection among interrogative specifiers—what kind, manner, way (and in sequence with

other morphemes, why), which, where, when, and when (future).

(8) This big black python (p. 44).

[python black big one classifier this] [. . .]

The noun phrase morphemes are increased here from the usual five to six, since two modifiers--black big--occur before the quantifier. There is usually but one morpheme in this 'attributive position' (just as there is usually only one morpheme in the 'specifier position'); there may be two instead of one, as above, in this relative order. Compare the different relative order in sentence (9).

(9) All four of those big black pythons (p. 46).

[python four classifier black big all those] [. . .]

Here the three modifiers--black big all--are in an 'attributive position' after the quantifier-classifier rather than before it; the 'demonstrative position' is still final, whether following the 'attributive position' as in this sentence, or the quantifier-classifier sequence, as in preceding sentences. When alternative quantification is marked, the quantifier-classifier sequence is twice stated as in sentence (10).

(10) One or two other people (p. 46).

[person other one classifier two classifier] [. . .]

Here the single modifier in 'attributive position' follows directly after the modified noun. In the pair of quantifier-classifier sequences that follow, the classifier is exactly the same in each sequence; the only difference in this pair of sequences is that there is a lower quantifier in the first sequence, and a higher quantifier in the second sequence.

Phrases which include verbs, whether verb phrases or noun phrases, follow different orders. In noun phrases, the phrase nucleus noun appears last in

sentence (11), and is the embedded subject of a clause which begins with a modifier in 'attributive position'.

(11) The Karens in your village (p. 47).

[your live village in Karens] [. . .]

In verb phrases the phase nucleus verb or verb compound— V or (V-V) or (V-V-V) or (V-V-V-V)— may be flanked by verb complements, one preceding and one following, as in (12), below; or one preceding but none following as in (13); or with following but no preceding verb complement, as in (14). The sample of sentences (1) to (5), above, suggests the wide variety possible; in the following it is only the verb phrases that are glossed.

(12) Actor will go (p. 48).

[will go specifically]

(13) Actor will carry back for ... (p. 49).

[will (come return carry get)]

(14) . . . is very far (p. 49).

[exist far much]

The verb glossed exist in (14) is followed by two verb complements of the 'aspectual'class. There are six members in this class of verb complements, which have a relative order to each other when they occur as a pair in one verb phrase, as (14), above, and (16), below.

(15) . . . is not far (p. 51).

[exist not far]

The morpheme glossed not is modifier before the modified verb complement for far.

(16) . . . is not very far (p. 51).

[exist far not much]

Here the same pair of verb complements appear in the same relative order as in (14), above; but the modifier glossed not follows the first and preceeds the second verb complement, which is then the modified one of the pair. The negative modifier precedes what is modified —that is, negated—whether what is modified is a verb complement, or a verb nucleus, as in (17).

(17) Actor didn't go (p. 52).

[not go]

If the verb nucleus is a compound or compound-like sequence of two verbs—(VV)—the sequence may be interrupted by the intrusion of the modifier before the modified verb as in (18), where (sleep-gets) appears as a non-contiguous compound sequence.

(18) Actor didn't get any sleep (p. 52).

[(sleep)-not-(get)]

Compare (17), where the verb is modified by preceding modifier negative, and sentence (19) which is imperative; here the modifier negative preceeds the verb complement glossed good.

(19) Don't go! (p. 53).

[go not good]

Adverbial modifiers appear after the verb—complement series; in (20), the verb is flanked by two verb complements, but is is the second complement, reduplicated, that is modified by the adverbial modifier, glossed quite or little.

(20) Actor has to buy quite a bit (p. 54).

[must buy (much much) little]

The object morpheme is included in verb phrase, finally in (21), but before adverbial modifier and out of phrase verb complement in (22).

(21) Actor will have to go visit him (p. 55).

[will necessarily (go-be) together him]

(22) Also don't cure all of them! (p. 55).

[not cure also all also] necessarily

Two objects are included in (23), but these are not regarded as direct and indirect objects; the latter are introduced by prepositional relators and follow the direct object.

(23) Actor will ask you something (p. 56).

[will (ask - see) you something]

8.2. The sample of sentences and phrases cited in 8.1, above, represents Moulmein Sgaw Karen. The highly symmetrical vowel distinctions of the dialect also appear in a variant dialect, Bassein Sgaw Karen, and in both the Moulmein and Bassein Pho Karen dialects, and also in the Palaychi Karen language. In Taungthu (Pa-o) Karen, however, an additional vowel at high tongue height leads to partial asymmetry. The completely symmetrical vowel system that is characteristically Karen is of the 3 (FCB) type because front-central-back vowels at high tongue height, /i ɨ u/, are matched at mid tongue height, /e ə o/, and low tongue height, /ɛ a ɔ/.

In Moulmein Sgaw Karen, the consonant which may precede the vowel is /b d/ or one of the oral stops, /p t c k/ unaspirated, or the glottal stop, or one of four aspirated oral stops. Or the vowel may be preceded by voiced /z ɣ/ or aspirated /s^{h}/, or by one of five unaspirated fricatives /θ s š x h/. Or the vowel may be preceded by one of four nasals, /m n ñ ŋ/, one of two liquids, /l r/ or one of two semivowels (vocalic resonants), /w y/. Fewer stops, nasals,

and fricatives are distinguished in Bassein Sgaw; fewer nasals in Pho Karen and in Palaychi Karen. In Palychi, however, more stops and more fricatives are distinguished.

In all the Karen noted, the vowel may be preceded not only by any one consonant from the full inventory of consonants; a few of these may follow, as second member of a consonant cluster—most commonly, liquid or semivowel.

The vowel always combines with one of two or three distinctive tones, and may be followed by a glottal stop, /ʔ/. In Moulmein Sgaw Karen, the High tone, with vowel in open syllable, rises slightly; but with vowel followed by glottal stop, High tone begins at High and falls to Low. The Mid tone and Low tone with vowels in open syllables fall slightly; but with vowels followed by glottal stop remain Mid level tone and Low level tone. In Bassein Sgaw Karen, only Mid and Low tones combine with vowel followed by glottal stop, while High tone combines only with vowels in open syllables. The same three tones are distinguished in Moulmein Pho, but only two tones are distinguished in Palaychi and Bassein Pho; the latter shows nasalization combined with all vowels except those produced at high tongue height; that is, /i ɨ u/ do not contrast with nasalized vowels.

The stress-juncture sequences are correlated with variation in vowel length.

9.0. The Burmese-Lolo family represents a classification that includes Burmese languages and dialects, and also Lolo-Moso languages and dialects. These two parts of the family are discussed separately. After this discussion some internal information is given on representatives of the Burmese languages and dialects (9.1, below); and on a language representative of Lolo-Moso languages and dialects—namely, Lisu (9.2, below).

Burmese proper, which is known by a literary word as Myen, is called Bamā (-čaka^3) by the Burmese. It is possible that this current self-designation, Bamā, was borrowed from English 'Burma'. The English source for 'Burma' may have been Burmese Mranmā. The Burmese source for 'Mranmā' was Brahma which is, accordingly, the ultimate source in the etymology of both the self-designation and the English name for the Burmese language. The 1931 Census of India (Bennison, 1933) does not distinguish between dialects of Burmese and languages closely related to Burmese, but lists the following names before the number of speakers of each:

Burmese	8,841,761
Arakanese	221,945
Yanbye	326,642
Chaungtha	34,625
Tavoyan	159,174
Yabein	(no first-language speakers)
Yaw	877
Danu	60,966
Intha	56,829
Taungyo	22,261
Hpon	679

In grammatical structure, most of these are said to be exactly like Burmese proper in sharing the same compounds (see 9.1, below) and idiomatic expressions, and to have a vocabulary which is for the most part cognate with that of Burmese proper, spoken by more people than all the rest combined.

The almost nine million people of the 1931 census for whom Burmese proper was a first language represented 60 per cent of the population of Burma. Almost three-fourths of the remaining 40 per cent of the population in 1931 spoke not only their native language, but also Burmese proper, as a second language. Since then, almost the entire population speaks Burmese proper. Stern (1962) estimates that 90 per cent of those who have another first language or dialect have by now learned Burmese proper. Such learned knowledge of a national language will soon approximate the entire population, and hence preclude any dialect distance testing to determine how much of Burmese proper a speaker whose native language is not Burmese proper understands; he will obviously understand very much, depending on how much he has learned, rather than on how distant his language is from what has become a national language.

Since the 11th century of our era, Burmese has been a written language, second only to its neighbor, Tibetan, which has a literature dating a few centuries earlier.

The 1957 population of Burma estimated by the Burmese government is 20 million, or five million more than the 1931 census. Part of the increase is due to including areas in the 1957 census that were excluded in the 1931 census— e.g. Naga Hills, the Wa State, and part of the Myitkyina districts. The native speakers of Burmese proper are now estimated to be 15 million; the addition of three million more Burmese nationals speaking this language, beside their native language, gives a total of 18 million speakers. The 15 million Burmese speakers

cited is the number given by the Center for Applied Linguistics, which also gives an estimate of three million Lolo speakers--in the Lolo-Moso part of the Burmese-Lolo family.

Locations of Burmese speakers are given in 9.1, below.

The difficulty with locating the Lolo-Moso part of the Burmese-Lolo family is that there are two peoples called Moso, if the Nashi are coordinate with the Lahu. It is possible to locate or identify Lolo-Moso segments only in terms of the names that the speakers are known by. These now follow:

North Lolo is a cover term for Thongho, Pakishan, Kangsiangying, Kiaokio, Nee, Ulu, Laichau, Nuoku.

East Lolo is spoken in Vietnam, and serves as a cover term for Mung, and White and Black Khoany.

South Lolo is spoken in Laos and in East Burma and in Thailand. In Laos there are the Punoi proper, the Pyen, Khaskhong, Hwethom, Punoi, and the Ako of the Akha group. In east Burma, there are most of the Akha--namely, the Akha proper, also known as Kaw--beside Phana, Asong, Menghwa, and Woni speakers. In Thailand, there are the Kui, also of the Akha group.

Lisu is a name for at least two languages, which are known by their dialect names; these dialects might be geographically segregated into an East Lisu group and North and South Lisu groups, but it is questioned whether such segregation would reflect linguistic divisions, since close cognates appear in all three groups. The dialect names in the literature include Lisu (see 9.2, below, for variant spelling), Lipha, Lipho, Kosopho, Kesopo (spoken in Yunnan).

Lolo proper is a cover-term for five languages: Ahi, Nyi, Weining, Lolopho, and Tsöko. But the Lolo that have the group name 'Lisu' are equally

speakers of a 'Lolo' language. The general structure as well as certain peculiarities in structure are the same for Lisu and the Lolo proper languages: morphemes are monosyllabic and distinguished by four or more different tones; verb phrases are complex and distinguish many kinds of aspect, mode, and voice which are marked by suffixes; directional markers are also suffixed.. Chinese loans can be detected in all because they leave as their mark tone patterns which differ from the native Lolo-Lisu patterns.

Moso is a term introduced by the Chinese for a tribe whose self-designation is Nashi or Nahsi. The literature occasionally uses the term 'Nakhi' to refer to these same Moso speakers who are also called Lomi by neighboring tribes.

The Lahu, who are found in China, Burma, Thailand, and Laos, are also occasionally referred to as 'Moso' in the literature(see above). It is not known whether those included in the Lahu group speak different dialects of one language, or more than one language. Beside the Lahu known by the same name as the cover-term for the group, there are the Lahuna who are also known as the Black Lahu; and the Lahusi who are also known as the Red Lahu; and the Lahu in Laos who are known as Musso.

Minchia may possibly belong linguistically in the Lolo group, but the linguistic affiliations of Minchia are masked, due to massive borrowing from Chinese—in vocabulary alone, 50 per cent of the Minchia vocabulary is derived from Chinese. On geographic and cultural evidence alone Minchia would certainly be classed with the Lolo. It seems possible that the so-called dialects of Minchia—Tali, Hoking and Eryuan—are, rather, separate languages, since their partial 'mutual intelligibility' is indeed very partial (50 to 75 per cent shared vocabulary).

The literature also includes Sihia, or Hsihsia, as a Lolo language. This was an archaic representative of Proto-Lolo that is now extinct.

The remaining languages named here may well belong in the Burmese-Lolo family, rather than in the Bodo-Naga-Kachin family, or the Naga-Kuki-Chin family. We included in these two families (see above) some languages which Shafer classified under his 'Burmic Division'; other languages under his 'Burmic Division' are included in our Burmese-Lolo family, which possibly also includes the languages of his 'Luish Section' and his 'Taman Section'. Languages listed under the 'Luish Section' are Andro, Sengmai, Kadu, and Sak or Thet; these languages are spoken in southeastern Assam and adjoining country in Burma. In the 1931 census, the last named language (Sak) was said to be spoken in a half dozen different dialects by 35,237 speakers. The languages or dialects of the 'Taman Section' (not specified) are estimated to number 10,000 speakers. Finally, Shafer includes Mro in Burmic (under his 'Mruish Section'), but according to Luce, this is very much open to question. Since a high percentage of the Mro or Mru vocabulary is Mon-Khmer, it is possible that this language may turn out to be genetically a member of the Mon-Khmer family.

An occasional language in the Burmese-Lolo family has been noted to borrow heavily from languages of other language families—as Minchia from Chinese, above. However, Burmese proper, more than any other, is known to have borrowed occasional words or massive domains of vocabulary. Other languages may then borrow secondarily from Burmese, since Burmese is now learned by 90 per cent of the speakers of other languages. The donor languages for Burmese borrowings are Pali, Sanskrit, Bengali, English and Portuguese, of the Indo-European family; Mon of the Mon-Khmer family; Malay of the

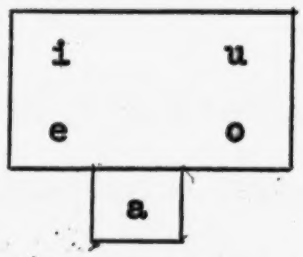
Austronesian family; and Shan of the Kam-Thai family, as well as Chinese, but both Shan and Chinese, like Burmese itself, are members of the Sino-Tibetan phylum.

Since the greater part of the Burmese vocabulary is monosyllabic, two syllable words in the donor language were sometimes reduced to one syllable when borrowed. Since compounds are possible in Burmese, one morpheme from the donor language was sometimes combined with a monosyllabic morpheme of Burmese origin to form a two syllable compound (loan blend). Two syllable and even three syllable morphemes in the donor languages were sometimes borrowed in Burmese without reduction, as bhāsā language (from Malay).

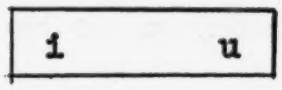
9.1. The following description of Burmese is derived from Firth (1937), Cornyn (1945), McDavid (1945), Stewart (1955), Ballard (1961), Latt (1962), and Stern (1962); Gekuro Yazaki cites additional sources in the Japanese Languages of the the World volume edited by Ichikawa and Hattori (V. 2,911-49).

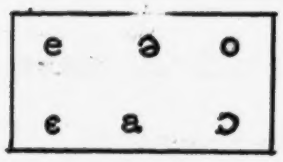
All are agreed that Burmese oral stops, including the affricate stop, distinguish /p t c k/; some sources add the glottal stop, /ʔ/, and some do not. The oral unaspirated stops are matched by voiced stops, and either by aspirated stops or by consonant clusters of the oral stops before /h/. So also there may be an aspirated /s^h/ (or else an /s/ plus /h/ cluster) besides voiceless unaspirated fricatives, /θ s š h/, and at least voiced /z/ (with a few sources matching both /θ s/ with voiced fricatives). The liquids include the lateral, /l/ (possibly in contrast with an aspirated /l^h/), and sometimes in contrast with /r/ which may represent spelling pronunciation, or pronunciation of borrowed words. The nasals distinguish /m n ŋ/ (plus /ñ/ in Stewart, who is followed here and in general by Yazaki), which are matched by aspirated nasals (or nasal consonant plus /h/ cluster). The semivowels are /w y/.

The sources are in general agreement in respect to consonant distinctions, but differ sharply in respect to vowel distinctions. The Burmese vowels are said to exemplify the common 2 (FB) over N type by some (e.g. McDavid, Latt, Stern):



But recognition of three additional vowels (e.g. by Firth, Stewart,Yazaki), would have Burmese exemplify a rare vowel type (FB) over 2(FCB):





Four tones, combined with vowels, are generally recognized; but they are variously described:

Tone 1 is level (unmarked): low, level, long; long and unchecked; low, unmarked, occurring on all syllables except those with the /ə/ vowel (but in the 2 (FB) over N type there is no /ə/ vowel); low, level but may rise in phrase final.

Tones 2, 3, and 4 are falling--gradually (2), abruptly (3), or checked (4); falling long (2), slightly falling creaky (3), or slightly falling with abrupt closure (4); from high (hence falling) but shortened by slight glottal catch (2); high stressed tone that usually falls at the end of the syllable (3); high stressed, with optional fall, cut off abruptly by a sharp glottal catch (4).

The differences between written Burmese and colloquial Burmese are few

(Stern): two linear fricative distinctions in written, /s h/, as against four in colloquial, /θ s š h/; two linear liquids in written, /l r/, as against one in colloquial, /l/; diphthongs /iy ay uiw/ in written, as against /ei ai au ou/ in colloquial. But spoken Burmese has sub-differentiation of colloquial style, high style, and intimate style also (Latt).

The syllable structure permits one or two consonants before vowel; after the vowel, there may be a nasal final which results in the vowel being nasalized. Latt exemplifies initial clusters of /h/ before /l/ or /m/; /p/ or /t/ before /h/; /p/ or /m/ before /y/; /r/ or /l/ before /w/.

In the relations among morphemes there is often uncertainty as to the status of the 'word'. For example, is there a word which consists of a sequence of 'particles' following stem or base or are some or all of these particles 'suffixes'? A sentence final particle may mark interrogative, negative or tenses (futures, or perfective). Noun particles mark instrumental with, by means of, or positional case (at, in, on; to, towards; from, at). General particles mark emphasis, as emphatic negative, quotative, and how about in sentence questions. There is both a prefix and a suffix for transforming a verb into a noun. Particles between verb and final particle mark tenses, as the past, politeness, and various modes (desiderative, abilitative, necessatitive, probability). One particle is said to mark aspect (continuative) in a phrase after verb (thereby functioning as a minor morpheme $\frac{m}{M}$); but this 'particle' has a dual function, since when not preceded by a verb--i.e., as a phrase nucleus itself—it marks live, remain (thereby functioning as a major morpheme).

Three groups of classifiers are described by Cornyn in reference to the nouns: (a) most nouns have special classifiers depending on their domain

(human being, animal, unit, writing, flat thing, long slender thing, round thing, thing ridden, article of clothing); (b) a few nouns are in the domain of time (minute, hour, etc.); (c) some nouns are themselves repeated after the numeral, The sequence noun-numeral-classifier may be followed by a restrictive suffix (only, alone), or by a distributive suffix (each).

The minor morphemes immediately after nouns are listed as a score of suffixes by Stewart (distinguishing source, agency, or actor from motion towards or goal; plural from collective plural from plural appropriate for personal and some other names; and so on). The list for 'suffixes' includes an occasional case (at, rest in, instrumental) but most positional cases (e.g. for inside, within, outside, under, on, above, near, in front) and the cardinal directions are listed as place or time particles; the time particles distinguish behind or after in time, from before. The list of special classifiers (also called classifying particles) is longer than that given above; the particle /khṓ/ is used 'when no more specific classifier is available' (Stewart).

In verb phrases, one set of particles distinguishes tenses (non-future narrative from future from completive) and imperative (the negative is marked by a prefix). A score of pre-final particles mark modal refinements of various tenses, which are more minutely distinguished than by the first group of tense particles; and also mode without tense, as appeal for sympathy, or objection to power of circumstances; they also mark the honorific, the emphatic, and so on.

The final particles are dependent on the pre-final particles after the manner of suffixes 'or may be free forms' (thereby having dual function, either $\frac{m}{M}$ or $\frac{M}{m}$, above). As final particles in verb phrases they distinguish over a score of voice and modal and aspect notions, as causative, permissive,

desiderative, doing for another, continuity, duration, and so on. Verbs are reduplicated to mark repetitive aspect, or to function in an attributive way; they may be transformed to nouns by a variety of suffixes, and into subordinate verb, or co-ordinate verb phrases by more than a dozen 'suffixes and particles,' distinguishing since, while, because, everytime (whenever) after, until, upon doing ..., only if; also, and simultaneously.

The minor morphemes in noun and verb phrases are termed 'suffixes' rather than 'particles' by Ballard who describes a person marking paradigm in which nominative or dative case for person is distinguished from object case (by suffix after person marker), and in which a suffix also marks plural of different persons addressing older persons:

1st person, man speaking;

1st person, woman speaking;

2nd person, man speaking;

2nd person, woman speaking;

but if the person addressed is the same age or younger than the speaker, no distinction is made between man or woman speaking, as for 2nd person (either sex) and 3rd person.

The 'phrase' includes Latt's 'grammaticals' which may be as long as four morpheme syllables in sequence, arising from compounding, and/or reduplication, and/or suffixation. In the sentences (from Yazaki) which follow, the glosses under the morphemes of phrases are inclosed in parentheses. In discussion which follows (a) the free translation, (b) the Burmese morphemes, (c) glosses in English [grouped in bracketed phrases], little distinction is made between suffixes and such postposed particles as verb complements, since the sources are not in full agreement; both are discussed as minor morphemes (lower-case m).

The morpheme which functions as phrase nucleus is discussed as a major morpheme (capital M), whatever its part of speech classification may be. Major morphemes that are either compounded or reduplicated are enclosed in parentheses within the phrase brackets.

Such compounds and reduplications, as well as noun phrases with classifiers, need to be described before sentences (1) to (31) below, because they are, in effect, elaborations of the simpler constructions shown in the sentences.

Compounds may be exemplified by their glosses in English (fire-house) means lamp (noun plus noun); (road-to show) means guide (noun plus verb); (good-business) means distinguished service (adjective or adjectival verb plus noun); good-distinguished means excellent (adjective plus adjective); (to live-house) means dwelling house (verb plus noun). Two verbs in compound means to trade (with only the second member glossed, to buy). In Pali-Burmese blended compounds, (heart-heart) means heart, and (punishment-to give) means to punish. A three member compound meaning physician is medicine-administer-master (noun plus verb plus noun).

Reduplication may be simple repetition of a major morpheme, as ($nhe^{3}nhe^{3}$) slowly, from nhe^{3} slow. Or the repetition in the reduplication may appear after a prefix, as (ta-propro) talking continuously, from pro to talk. Or only the second syllable of a two syllable morpheme may be repeated in reduplication like (arap-rap) all places, from arap place. Most morphemes are monosyllabic, however.

Classifiers do not occur with cardinal numbers (borrowed from Pali) which follow the usual modifier-modified order:

pathama ne

[first day]

For numerals up to and including 10, noun phrase with classifier which includes a linking morpheme glossed assertive, reflects the usual order of modifiers before modified in which the noun is modified by all that precedes:

ta yok so lū

[one classifier assertive person] for one person.

When noun phrase with classifier does not include the linking morpheme, however, the order is reversed, and the modified--the noun--precedes rather than follows the modifiers:

lū ta yok

[person one classifer] for one person.

For multiples of 10--that is, 20, 30, etc.--the noun phrase with classifer begins with the modified--that is, the noun--but the order of numeral and classifier is reversed to classifer-numeral, and the classifier appears with prefix:

mran^{3} a-koň nhaccčhay

[horse classifer (20)] for 20 horses.

This same order is extended by the redundant addition of the same classifier for numbers higher than 10 (e.g. 25) which are not exact multiples of 10:

mran^{3} a-koň nhaccčhayhā^{3} koň

[horse classifier (25) classifier]

for 25 horses. The prefixed classifier is omitted in noun phrases with numerals over 10, whether multiples of 10 or not, in colloquial spoken Burmese.

The sample of Burmese sentences now follows.

(1) Oh, this river is deep!

ī mrač alwan nak čwa

[this river] [very deep] oh!

In the first or topic phrase, as in the second or comment phrase, the order of morphemes is m M--modifier-modified (and as Ballard generalizes the 'subject' --i.e. topic--usually occurs first in the sentence). Final particles with referent range extending over the entire sentence, as for the exclamation particle, above, occur out of phrase brackets--after the topic and comment phrases.

(2) This person is good.

ī lū koṅ^{3} saṅ́

[this person] [good assertive]

The first or topic phrase in sentence (2), as in (1), shows modifier-modified order. In the following comment phrase of sentence (2), the phrase nucleus is glossed good, and precedes a complement that also serves as a verb complement or verb auxiliary--it gives a predicative value to 'adjectives', though 'adjectives' are difficult to justify as a part of speech separate from 'verb' in Burmese; the same verb complement, glossed assertive, also appears after 'verb' in other phrases. The apparent 'adjective' is the second member, after the 'noun' in compounds which function as nouns: (lū-koṅ^{3}) means person having good character (person-goodness).

(3) That mountain is high.

thui toṅ́ [mraṅ^{1} saṅ́]

[that mountain] [high assertive]

Sentence (3) parallels (2). Here again the apparent adjective or adjectival verb in the second or comment phrase may appear in a noun compound after a noun first member: (toṅ́-mraṅ) means mountain that is high (mountain-high). In other phrases the order of morphemes is reflected in the gloss [adjective assertive noun] which may function as topic before comment [...] .

(4) The good person ...

koń^{3} sań^{1} lū

[good assertive person] [...]

(5) The high mountain...

mraň^{1} sań^{1} ton•

[high assertive mountain] [...]

Compare the topic functioning as object in sentence (6)followed by comment clause (consisting of two phrases), and the topic functioning as subject in (7), before a comment phrase which is not cited.

(6) The wife tells this story.

ī čakā^{3} kui mayā^{3} čhui sań

[this story accusative] [wife] [tells assertive]

The order of phrases in sentence (6) is O-S-V (object-subject-verb); the major morpheme M (tells) is followed by a minor morpheme glossed assertive in the verb phrase.

(7) The story which the wife tells ...

mayā^{3} čhui sań^{1} čakā^{3}

[wife tells assertive story] [...]

When the minor morpheme, glossed assertive, is in a phrase before a modified major morpheme, it links what precedes, wifely told, or which wife tells, to what follows, story. In such phrases, one or more morphemes that precede the linking morpheme glossed assertive function as modifiers to the major morpheme that follows the linking morpheme, as also in (4) and (5), above. This is one kind of elaboration of the modifier-modified order shown in sentences (1), (2), (3), above. In another kind of elaboration, a phrase marking the comparative among equals (8), or the comparative among non-equals (9), precedes the modifier-

assertive-modified phrase:

(8) A more beautiful woman than that woman ...

thui min^{3}ma thak lha so min^{3}ma

[that woman than] [beautiful assertive woman] [...]

(9) A person inferior to me . . .

ŋā ok ńaṁ^{1} so lū

[me than] [inferior assertive person] [...]

Compare sentence (6), above, showing the order O-S-V with sentence (10) where the order is S-O-V (subject-object-verb); in both sentences however a minor morpheme glossed as assertive functions as a verb complement. And in general, when a major morpheme occurs as phrase nucleus in a verb phrase without following verb complement, the verb is imperative.

(10) I am learning history.

kywannup rājawaṅ kui saṅ sáṅ

[I] [history accusative] [learn assertive]

Verbs with stop consonant initials that are intransitive, as kya fall and pwā be born, are transitivized by infixing /h/ after the initial stop of the verb; or in other words, verbs with aspirated initial stops are transitive, as khya let (it) fall and phwa bear (offspring).

Compare sentence (1), in which the final particle is out of bracket, with sentence (11) in which the particle between the topic functioning as subject, [he], and the three phrases of the comment is also out of bracket, since its reference range extends over both topic and comment:

(11) He, too, let the horse drink water.

sū lań^{3} mraṅ^{3} ā^{3} re kui sok če sań

[he] too [horse by] [water accusative] [drink causative assertive]

The final verb phrase includes two verb complements after the phrase nucleus.

(12) What he says is right.

sū pro ka^{3} mhan eń^{1}

he say what] [right present]

The first or topic phrase includes an embedded subject, but the particle glossed what is modified, as usual, by preceding modifiers; the particle is said to be a nominative marker, and in this phrase functions as a major morpheme ($\overline{\underline{M}}$), though in other phrases it may function as a minor morpheme ($\overline{\underline{m}}$). The verb complement in the comment phrase marks present explicitly, in contrast to the complement glossed assertive in sentences (2), (3), (6), (10), and (11), which marks non-future tense—i.e., past or present—and also functions as a linking morpheme between modifiers and modified in other sentences.

(13) The cat began to run on seeing the dog.

thui kroṅ khwe^{3} kui mraṅ rwe^{1} pre^{3} prī^{3}

[that cat] [dog accusative] [see -ing] [run past]

The phrases show a S-O-V tr. -V intr. order (subject-object-transitive verb-intransitive verb). The verb complement in the main or final verb phrase marks past tense explicitly (rather than non-future), and also implies inceptive aspect in this sentence, but tense only in subordinate verb phrase, as in the pre-final phrase of sentence (14) where again the main verb phrase follows the subordinate verb phrase.

(14) They went out after having eaten the meal.

sū-tui^{1} thamaṅ ča^{3} prī^{3} rwe^{1} thwakswā$^{-3}$ -kra sań

[he-plural] [meal] [eat past-ing] [go-out assertive]

Here again, as in sentence (13), the order of phrases shows S-O-V tr. -Vintr. But here the transitive verb is followed by two verb complements. The verb complement after the intransitive verb is glossed assertive and marks either present or past—i.e. nonfuture—tense; but the present tense is precluded in this sentence. The preceding subordinating verb is explicitly marked for past, and so the assertive complement is in tense agreement, especially since a present tense reading (They are going out after ...) would imply future, and the assertive complement is explicitly nonfuture in tense.

Compare sentences (13) and (14), in which the topic functions as subject for both the subordinating verb and the main verb phrases in the comment, with sentence (15) in which there are two clauses, with one subject for the subordinating verb phrase, and another subject for the main verb phrase which, as usual, is the last phrase in the sentence.

(15) When he came, I had already finished bathing.

sū roklā so^{2} kywannup rekhyui^{3} prī nhaṅ^{1} saṅ́

[he] [come when] [I] [bath past already assertive]

The phrase nucleus in the final verb phrase is followed by three verb complements; that glossed already indicates that in sentences in which there are more than one verb, the event marked by one precedes that marked by another.

In non-contrastive syntax, the object phrase, O, which precedes the indirect object phrase, IO, in sentence (16) may be exchanged in order—IO before O—with change in emphasis rather than change in message.

(16) The mother told the reason to her daughter.

ami saṅ́ akroṅ^{3} kui samī^{3} ā^{3} pro saṅ́

[mother ?] [reason accusative] [daughter to] [tell assertive]

So also, the first or topic phrase may function as object, O, before the subject phrase, S, as in sentence (17).

(17) As for the history of Burma, I'll tell it.

mranmānuiṅṅaṁ eń[1] rājawaṁ kui ṅā saṁ pro-krā pe aṁ[1]

[(State of Burma) 's history accusative] [I ?] [tell-m m m]

But reordering of phrases never extends to the main verb phrase which is always the final phrase of the sentence, even if the verb is a copula to be connecting the two preceding phrases, as in sentence (18).

(18) This ship is that young person's ship.

ī lhe kā[3] thui pyui so lu eń[1] lhe prač saṁ

[this ship nominative] [that young assertive person's ship] [is assertive]

The order of phrases as cited in sentence (16), S-O-IO-V, may be reordered to S-IO-O-V, just as the free English translation may be reordered from that given above to The mother told her daughter the reason. (But in the English reordering, there is contraction from the to her daughter to her daughter; it is possible to use the uncontracted to her daughter only when the direct object intervenes between the verb, told, and the indirect object.) In the Burmese reordering, the phrases remain identical both in S-O-IO-V and in S-IO-O-V. In the first phrase, S, and in the last phrase V, a minor morpheme of the same shape follows the phrase nucleus, and is glossed assertive after the verb (non-future tense). But after the noun of the subject phrase in sentences (16) and (17), the gloss is questioned; it is said to mark nominative, but nominative is not generally marked; the morpheme glossed assertive also serves as a linking morpheme between modifiers and modified, and may possibly be used in a third sense (as nominative, in sentences whose phrases are in a non-favorite order).

Sentence (17) may also be reordered from that cited, O-S-V, to the favorite order, S-O-V. The minor morphemes abbreviated as lower-case m's in the verb phrase mark future tense by a suffix and two verb complements. While the phrases preceding verb phrases are reorderable, as indicated, the morphemes within a phrase are in fixed order for that phrase.

In a general way, modifiers preceded modified within phrases, and complements specifying tense, and the like, follow the phrase nucleus. The negative morpheme has a dual function: it may function as a modifier ($\overline{\underline{M}}$) before phrase nucleus in a verb phrase; in other verb phrases it may function as the phrase nucleus ($\underline{\overline{M}}$) in the sense of negative assertion, and then be followed by verb complements.

(19) As for this dog, I did not beat him.

ī	khwe	kui	kwyanto[2]	ma	ruik
[this	dog	accusative]	[I]	[not	beat]

(20) Don't worry!

ma	kron[1]	-kra	lan[1]
[not	worry-	future	forbidden]

In the final verb phrase of sentence (19) the negative is modifier of the following verb which, as an imperative, may occur without following verb complements. The negative is also a modifier of the major morpheme verb of sentence (22) which is followed by two m's, a suffix and a verb complement. But in sentence (21), the same negative morpheme functions as the phrase nucleus($\underline{\overline{M}}$), and is then followed by verb complements.

(21) As for your order, I am not opposed to it.

sań	ānā	kui	ṅā	ma	čhan	prī
[your order		accusative]	[I]	[is-not	?	past]

The topic here functions as object in the O-S-V order. The assertive negative is followed by verb complements including that glossed as explicit past which after the negative verb marks the sense of intention or resolve already taken in respect to action contemplated (not opposed).

Positive imperative verbs, like negative ones, occur without following verb complements, but may be followed by a politeness complement.

(28) Eat!

ǰa^{-3}

[eat]

(29) Please eat!

ǰa^{-3} pā

[eat please]

The interrogative particles, like exclamatory particles, are out of bracket, since their referent range is to topic as well as comment phrases. A form of the interrogative particle that anticipates a yes-or-no answer in straight questions, as (30), is used in imperative sentences when it is anticipated that the command will be willingly followed, as in sentence (31).

(30) Will he come?

sū lā mań lo

[he] [come future] interrogative

(31) Do please show me the bracelet, won't you?

lukǰwap	kui	kywannup	ā$^{-3}$	pra	pā	lo^{1}
[bracelet	accusative]	[me	to]	[show	please]	interrogative

9.2. Of the Lolo languages, we have a reliable description of the sound system of Lisu, by a native speaker of that language (Robert Morse). The self-designation of the Lisu tribe is Lisu, and the Chinese name for the Lisu differs

from the self-designation only in tones. Variant spellings of Lisu are Lishaw, Lissu, Lisshaw, Lesuo, Leisu, Lëshuoop'a, Lëjengoup'a, Loisu. Neighboring languages identify the Lisu by other names: Chung (in Rawang), Cheli (in Shan), Chedi (in Loatian); an apparent adaptation of Lisu is used by the Moshi who call the Lisu Lusu. Tung T'ung-ho (1953) lists the Lisu as co-ordinate with a half dozen other languages or dialects which he classifies as Lolo-Moso (Lahu, Woni, Aka, Loto, Noshi, Minkia); these Lolo-Moso languages are spoken in a wide area of South Central Asia (in Yunnan province of China; in northern Thailand; in Laos; and along the eastern and northern borders of Burma).

The Lisu stops, including two affricate stops, distinguish /p t c č k/, which are completely matched by aspirated voiceless stops, and by voiced stops. Of the voiceless fricatives that are distinguished, /f s š x/ , three (all but /f/) are matched by voiced fricatives. There are three nasals, /m n ŋ/, one liquid, /l/; the two non-syllabic vowels, /ĭ ŭ/, are of the kind that are usually called semivowels (y w). There are two co-existent vowel systems. Unrounded vowels are of the wholly symmetrical 3 (FB) type, since front and back of front contrasts are made at three tongue heights: high /i ɨ/, mid /ɪ ə/, and low /e a/. Rounded vowels are of the partly symmetrical 2 (FB) over N type, since front-back contrasts are made at two tongue heights, high /ü u/, and mid /ö ʊ/, while no-contrast or neutralized vowel is produced at low tongue height, /o/.

The syllable may or may not begin with a consonant; or a non-syllabic vowel; or a sequence of both; or neither. Whatever the initial or lack of initial, the syllable always includes a syllabic vowel combined with a tone, either tone 1 (high level), or tone 2 (mid level), or tone 3 (low level), or tone 4 (high falling),or tone 5 (low rising), or tone 6 (low pharyngealized, sometimes

checked.) When a syllable lacks an initial, but ends in /n/, the result is that the vowel is nasalized (instead of the nasal being a consonant after the vowel). So also, when the syllable initial consonant is fricative /x/; but when any other consonant is in syllabic initial, the vowel is not nasalized.

The Following Abbreviations Will Be Used

AA	American Anthropologist
ACLS	American Council of Learned Societies
AES-P	American Ethnological Society, Publication
AL	Anthropological Linguistics
APS-P	American Philosophical Society, Proceedings
APS-T	American Philosophical Society, Transactions
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
BAE-R	Bureau of American Ethnology, Report
CU	Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
IUPAL	Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics
JAF	Journal of American Folklore
JSAP	Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris
Lg	Language
RCPAFL	Research Center Publications in Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics
SJA	Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
SIL	Studies in Linguistics
TCLP	Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague
UMPL	University of Michigan Publications, Linguistics
UCPAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UCPL	University of California Publications in Linguistics
VFPA	Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology
WDWLS	William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series

CONTENTS

SINO-TIBETAN FASCICLE FIVE

6.0. Scope of the Bodo-Naga-Kachin family 2

6.1. Bodo branch 2

6.2. Naga branch 7

6.3. Kachin branch 10

7.0. Scope of the Naga-Kuki-Chin family 17

7.1. Chin branch 20

7.2. Kuki branch 22

7.3. Naga branch 22

8.0. Scope of the Karen family 25

8.1. Sample of Sqaw sentences 27

8.2. Phonemic variety in Karen 35

9.0. Scope of the Burmese-Lolo family 37

9.1. Burmese 42

9.2. Lisu 56